

Message Text

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ACTION SS-30

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FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1226

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 04472

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER), GW

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BONN, MARCH 24: BERLIN

ISSUES

1. SUMMARY: TIME PERMITTING, THE FRG SIDE MAY RAISE SEVERAL BERLIN MATTERS WITH SECRETARY KISSINGER DURING HIS MARCH 24 STOP IN BONN WITH A VIEW TO HIS RAISING THEM IN TURN WITH THE SOVIETS. SUBJECTS ON WHICH THE FRG MAY FOCUS ATTENTION IN THIS CONTEXT ARE: FEDERAL PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN, INCLUDING THE LOCATION OF THE FEDERAL ENVIRONMENT AGENCY (FEA) IN THE CITY; TRANSIT TRAFFIC DIFFICULTIES; FOUR-POWER CONSULTATIONS ON BERLIN; AND LUFTHANSA LANDINGS IN WEST BERLIN. SECRETARY KISSINGER MAY WISH TO URGE EARLY FRG AGREEMENT ON THE RECENT US PROPOSAL FOR AN ALLIED CONSULTATIONS PAPER ON BERLIN. FOLLOWING IS THE PRESENT STATUS OF THESE VARIOUS SUBJECTS
END SUMMARY.

2. FEDERAL PRESENCE

THERE HAVE BEEN NO FURTHER SOVIET PROTESTS OR DEMARCHES ON FEDERAL OFFICES AND INSTITUTIONS IN WEST BERLIN SINCE THE SECRETARY'S TALK WITH BRANDT AND SCHEEL ON MARCH 3-4 IN BONN. HOWEVER, SOVIET OPPOSITION TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEA IN WEST BERLIN IS CLEARLY ON RECORD. WE CAN EXPECT FURTHER PROTESTS AND POSSIBLY EVEN BERLIN TRANSIT TRAFFIC HARASSMENT AS THE PARLIAMENTARY PROCEDURES FOR
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AUTHORIZING THE FEA'S ACTIVITIES GO FORWARD IN THE

BUNDESTAG. (FINAL PARLIAMENTARY AUTHORIZATION FOR ITS ESTABLISHMENT IS EXPECTED IN MAY OR JUNE.) MOREOVER, THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT (OR AT LEAST CERTAIN MINISTRIES) IS APPARENTLY PROPOSING TO LOCATE FURTHER FEDERAL BODIES IN WEST BERLIN IN THE NEAR FUTURE, E.G., A NATIONAL CULTURAL FOUNDATION. IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THE SOVIETS WILL ACCEPT QUIETLY YET A FURTHER BUILDUP IN THE FEDERAL PRESENCE. THEY ALREADY CLAIM THE FEA TO BE A VIOLATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. THE GERMANS WILL PROBABLY WANT TO KNOW WHERE THE SECRETARY STANDS ON THIS COMPLEX OF QUESTIONS AND WHAT HE PROPOSES TO SAY TO THE SOVIETS ON IT.

3. TRANSIT TRAFFIC

THE SOVIETS, THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF THE GDR, CREATED BERLIN TRANSIT TRAFFIC PROBLEMS IN JANUARY AND FEBRUARY, APPARENTLY TO INDICATE THEIR DISSATISFACTION WITH THE FRG'S DECISION TO PROCEED WITH ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FEA IN WEST BERLIN. BOTH THE SOVIETS AND GDR HAVE MADE CLEAR THEIR INTENTION TO BRING ABOUT FURTHER DIFFICULTIES SHOULD THE FEA DECISION BE PUT INTO FORCE. SPECIFICALLY, EMPLOYEES OF THE FEA MIGHT ENCOUNTER DIFFICULTIES IN TRAVELLING BETWEEN THE FRG AND WEST BERLIN. SUCH A STEP BY THE SOVIETS AND/OR GDR WOULD CONSTITUTE A VIOLATION OF THE BERLIN AGREEMENT. THE ENTIRE MATTER OF THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN THEREFORE HAS BECOME LINKED TO THE TRANSIT TRAFFIC PROBLEM.

4. FOUR-POWER CONSULTATIONS

THE SOVIETS STATED ON FEBRUARY 22 TO DEPUTY SECRETARY RUSH THAT THEY WERE PREPARED TO ENTER INTO FOUR-POWER CONSULTATIONS TO RESOLVE PROBLEMS RELATED TO BERLIN. THE SOVIETS WANT THE FRG TO DROP THE FEA PROPOSAL AND ALSO APPARENTLY WANT TO FREEZE THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN AT ITS PRESENT LEVEL. IF THESE STEPS COULD BE AGREED TO WITHOUT CONSULTATIONS, THE SOVIETS WOULD OBVIOUSLY BE SATISFIED, BUT THESE WOULD ALSO BE THEIR GOAL IF CONSULTATIONS WERE TO TAKE PLACE. NONE OF OUR BONN GROUP ALLIES IS AT PRESENT KEEN ON FORMAL CONSULTATIONS WITH THE SOVIETS (ALTHOUGH EGON BAHR SEEMS TO

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CONSIDER THEM A GOOD IDEA, FOR REASONS OF HIS OWN). ONLY THE FRENCH FAVOR "INFORMAL" QUADRIPARTITE CONTACTS AS A POSSIBLE WAY OUT OF THE PRESENT SITUATION, AND EVEN THEY ARE IN NO HURRY IN THIS REGARD.

5. LUFTHANSA IN WEST BERLIN

BAHR RAISED THIS TOPIC WITH GROMYKO DURING HIS EARLY MARCH VISIT TO MOSCOW, FOLLOWING UP ON THE TRIPARTITE

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ALLIED APPROACH TO THE SOVIETS ON THE SAME SUBJECT IN BERLIN. THE QUESTION IS SIMPLY TO HAVE THE FOUR POWERS AGREE ON THE MODALITIES TO ALLOW LUFTHANSA TO LAND IN WEST BERLIN EN ROUTE TO MOSCOW FROM THE FRG. THE MATTER OF LUFTHANSA'S OVERFLYING EAST GERMANY IS ONE FOR FRG-GDR NEGOTIATION. ACCORDING TO BAHR GROMYKO MADE SOME POSITIVE NOISES. THE MORE FORMAL SOVIET REPLY TO THE ALLIES IN BERLIN ON MARCH 14 WAS QUITE NEGATIVE, HOWEVER, SUGGESTING THAT THE LUFTHANSA ISSUE COULD ONLY BE HANDLED IN THE CONTEXT OF A WIDE-RANGING DISCUSSION OF BERLIN AVIATION (E.G., AIR CORRIDORS, FLIGHTS BY PANAM TO WEST BERLIN, ETC.). THE GERMANS MAY ASK THE SOVIETS TO CLARIFY TO THE SECRETARY THE ACTUAL POSITION ON THIS AVIATION QUESTION, WHICH IS ONE OF SOME PRESTIGE VALUE TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.

6. THE US REPRESENTATIVE IN THE BONN GROUP RECENTLY TABLED A DEPARTMENT DRAFT OF THE CONSULTATIONS PAPER ON BERLIN MATTERS. THE PAPER WOULD PROVIDE CLEAR GUIDELINES FOR THE FRG TO CONSULT THE THREE ALLIES FULLY AND IN TIMELY FASHION ON FUTURE FEDERAL ACTIVITIES ENVISAGED FOR WEST BERLIN. THE GERMANS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY ACCEPT THE BASIC CONCEPT OF THE PAPER AND HAVE SAID THEY WILL BE IN TOUCH WITH US SHORTLY FOR DETAILED DISCUSSION' IF OCCASION ARISES, THE SECRETARY MAY WISH TO EXPRESS HIS INTEREST IN THE BONN GROUP'S REACHING AN EARLY CON-

CLUSION ON THIS CONSULTATIONS PAPER, PRECISELY TO AVOID
OUR BEING FACED WITH FURTHER SURPRISES WITH REGARD TO
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PLANS FOR ESTABLISHING ADDITIONAL FEDERAL OFFICES IN
WEST BERLIN.

7. COMMENT: IT WILL BE APPARENT FROM THIS MESSAGE THAT
THE ISSUE OF THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN WEST BERLIN CON-
TINUES TO LIE AT THE HEART OF PRESENT ALLIED-SOVIET AND
SOVIET-FRG DIFFICULTIES OVER BERLIN. IT IS OUR VIEW THAT
LEGALLY, NOTHING IN THE BERLIN AGREEMENT PREVENTS AN
ENHANCEMENT IN THE FEDERAL PRESENCE IN THE CITY. NEITHER
THE FRENCH NOR THE BRITISH FULLY ENDORSE THIS VIEW. BUT
BOTH, ALONG WITH THE CHANCELLERY AND SCHEEL, SEEM TO
CONSIDER IT POLITICALLY WISE TO HAVE A OFF
PERIOD ON ANY FURTHER BUILDUP IN THE PRESENCE AFTER THE
FEA IS ESTABLISHED. THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT IS ANXIOUS,
HOWEVER, TO AVOID TAKING DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUCH
A POSITION IN THE FACE OF THE INEVITABLE ATTACKS BY THE
OPPOSITION AND WEST BERLINERS, AND WILL SUGGEST THAT ITS
ACTION SHOULD BE TO ENDORSE A PREVIOUS DECISION BY THE
THREE WESTERN OCCUPYING POWERS.
HILLENBRAND

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